THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

POLITICS, PARTIES, AND ISSUES: 1944

A Radio Discussion by AVERY CRAVEN
WALTER JOHNSON *and* MAYNARD KRUEGER

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Around the Round Table . . . .

AVERY O. CRAVEN, professor of American history of the University of Chicago, was born in North Carolina and educated at Simpson College (Iowa), Harvard University, and the University of Chicago. Before joining the faculty on Chicago's Midway, he had taught at the College of Emporia, Michigan State College, and the University of Illinois. In history his field of specialization has been the study of the South and West and particularly of the Civil War. In addition, Dr. Craven is an expert on conservation and soil problems. He was president of the American Agricultural Society in 1930 and in recent years has been a lecturer for the United States Department of Agriculture. He is the co-author of *Sources of Culture in the Middle West* and author of *Soil Exhaustion in Virginia and Maryland* (1925); *Edwin Ruffin: Southerner* (1931); *To Markie* (1933); *The Repressible Conflict* (1939); and *The Coming of the Civil War* (1942).

WALTER JOHNSON, assistant professor of American history at the University of Chicago, is a native of Nahant, Massachusetts. He did his undergraduate work at Dartmouth College and received his A.B. degree there in 1937. He was granted his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago, where he specialized in recent American history. He has been a member of the department of history at the University of Chicago for the last three years. Besides his academic interests, Mr. Johnson has taken an active part in Illinois politics. He is the author of numerous magazine articles and at the present time is engaged in writing a biography of William Allen White.

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER, assistant professor of economics at the University of Chicago, studied both history and international politics before specializing in economics. He completed his undergraduate education at the University of Missouri in 1926. After receiving his A.M. from that institution in 1927, he joined the staff of Albion College as an instructor in history. He spent three years in Europe studying at the universities of Paris, Berlin, and Geneva. From 1928 until he joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1932, he taught in the School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania. He is interested in politics and in 1940 ran as vice-presidential candidate on the Socialist ticket.

POLITICS, PARTIES, AND ISSUES: 1944

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MR. CRAVEN: The depression and now the war seem to have played havoc with political parties. Internal conflicts threaten both the Republicans and the Democrats. Issues are confused and leadership uncertain.

Doesn't it look as though the present political parties might be one of the major casualties of this war?

MR. KRUEGER: Yes, Craven, we will go into that. Certainly in the Democratic party there has been confusion. A couple of Democratic governors have been threatening to bolt the Democratic party for quite some time. There was recently a big flurry in the Senate in which secession was threatened by some of the Democratic senators. The Democrats are certainly split on the poll-tax question and on how to handle the soldier vote.

Doesn't it look as if the Democratic party is breaking up?

MR. JOHNSON: We will see about that a little later.

On the Republican side there is a haze of confusion. Some important Republicans have suggested there should be identical foreign planks by both parties. Will this aid the war and the peace to follow?

MR. CRAVEN: Not only that, but there is also the matter of candidates. Almost every important leader seems to have his favorite son; and, then, there are just as many moves to stop So-and-so.

Does this simply mean that we have a conflict over leadership, or does it mean that vital issues lie behind all this confusion?

MR. KRUEGER: Those are big questions, and you know what we, as academic people, do with big questions—we break them down into littler ones. So let us take a look at this in greater detail. First, let us look at the Democratic party, then at the Republican party, and then at the third-party prospects. What is happening in the Democratic party now?

MR. CRAVEN: Let us start with the confusion that occurred the other day in the Senate. You remember that a senator from North Carolina, after having thought himself abused by a Republican from Pennsylvania, made a great speech in which he said: "Mr. President, they can drive us out; yes, they can drive us out. There can be an end of insults. There can be an end of toleration. There can be an end of patience. We can form a Southern Democratic party and vote as we please in the Electoral College; and we will hold the balance of power in this country."[1]

MR. JOHNSON: Craven, I think that the southern Democrats who subscribe to that doctrine really are doing nothing but bluffing at the present moment. After all, these southern Democrats remember 1860, when they split from the Democratic party. They became a minority section, and the Civil War soon followed.

MR. CRAVEN: I cannot agree with you; there is too much that lies behind it. This is not something that is merely stirred up at the present moment. This is something that runs way back into the whole story of the South's being a colonial dependent. You remember that there have been threats of revolt for a long time over the tariff and over the freight differentials. There have been

[1] Quotation from Senator Joseph William Bailey of North Carolina (see *Congressional Record* for December 7, 1943).

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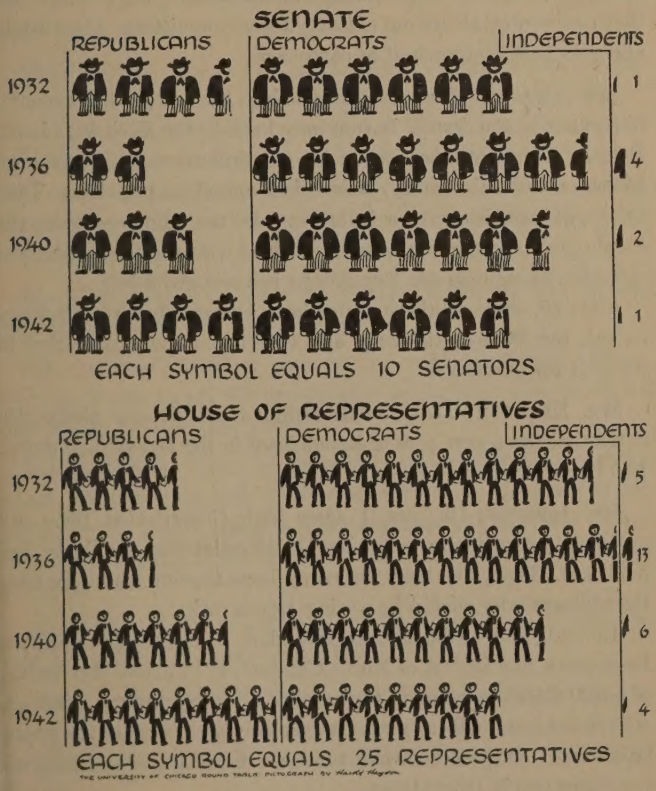
POLITICAL LINEUP OF CONGRESS

1932–42



governors in Alabama and in Louisiana and in Mississippi who have talked about an independent political move for a long time.

MR. KRUEGER: That sounds to me, Johnson, as if he is saying that the Solid South is about to break to pieces in the hands of the Democratic party. You don't agree on that?

MR. JOHNSON: From the practical standpoint I do not, because it would mean that, if they did break, they would lose control of their committee chairmanships in the Senate, for instance, for they now control eleven out of thirty-three committees. They would also lose their vast amount of patronage.

MR. CRAVEN: You are overlooking the deep, fundamental discontent in the South. It runs way back to the Civil War itself. Further than that, there are a lot of southerners who were born Democrats who, in reality, believe in Republican principles. Take the small-town banker, for instance; take the man who owns the cotton gin; take the man who has control over the farmlands, and so forth—those men are Republican in their attitudes.

After all, some southern states have already shown a tendency to bolt the Democratic party and vote the Republican ticket in the past few elections.

MR. KRUEGER: That sounds right to me. I have always insisted that there were a lot of Republicans in the Democratic party. You don't think so, Johnson?

MR. JOHNSON: Oh, yes, I agree with Craven that there are many southerners who were born Democratics that should be Republicans. Then, too, there are many Iowa farmers who were born Republicans who should be voting Democratic.

But let us look at the practical situation. Many of these southern Democrats, like Bailey, of North Carolina, or "Cotton" Ed Smith, of South Carolina, who are threatening a Southern party, after all, are elected from poll-tax states, where only 3 per cent of the population vote. They do not want to create disturbances and to upset the status quo in those states.

MR. CRAVEN: It looks to me there as if they have been creating a good deal of disturbance. It seems to me that there is, after all, something very fundamental going on. I would not be surprised at all if the revolt, which has been organizing for a good many years, would come, for Farley has been in the South and finding a very

receptive group to listen to him and his talk of a new Democratic organization. Maybe they are not willing to bolt the party and form a third party, but there is danger of revolt within the Democratic party itself.

MR. JOHNSON: Let us look at the issue over which this dispute in the Senate came several weeks ago. It was over the question of the Lucas-Green Bill, which would give the vote in the national election next year to soldiers overseas. These southern Democrats lined up with northern Republican reactionaries—"an unholy alliance," according to Senator Guffey—and voted to defeat this Lucas-Green Bill.[2]

MR. KRUEGER: Why don't the southern senators want the soldiers to be able to vote in the camps?

MR. JOHNSON: Because they do not want the Negro soldiers from the South to get the precedent of voting and then in peacetime also to demand that vote.

MR. KRUEGER: Then, are these southern senators in a position where they have to take their choice between the Democratic party in the South being a white-supremacy party and losing elections or letting the soldiers vote and perhaps winning a national election?

MR. JOHNSON: They are trying to bluff the issue, so that the vote bill will not be passed in the House next week.

MR. CRAVEN: Johnson, are you overlooking completely the southern belief in the states' rights doctrine and the fact that to a certain extent they are defending their position on the right of the states?

MR. JOHNSON: I think that the states' rights argument against the Green-Lucas Bill is nothing but a smoke screen—a smoke screen

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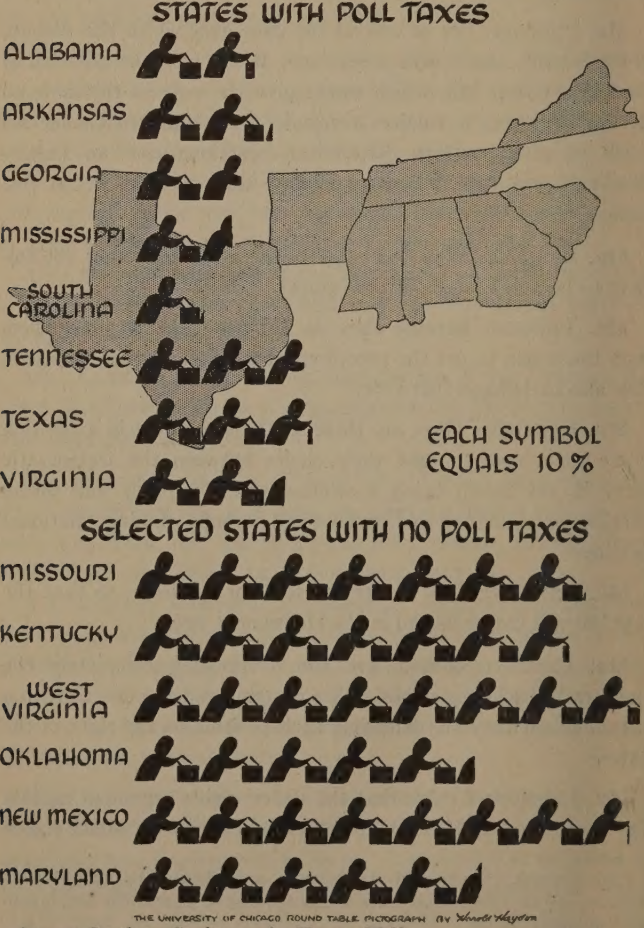
[2] See Kenneth Colegrove, Walter Johnson, and Charles Merriam, *Soldiers, Civilians, and the Vote*, a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE, No. 287, broadcast September 19, 1943.

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF ADULT POPULATION WHICH VOTED IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1928 AND 1932



Source: Southern Conference for Human Welfare

to hide their basic fears of permitting people to vote. After all, if we conscript people without letting those people vote, we are having conscription without representation; and that question goes to the basis of free government.

MR. CRAVEN: I might agree with you that this is simply a temporary flare-up, with the idea perhaps of forcing their will upon the Democratic party. I could agree to that if there were not so much that lies behind it.

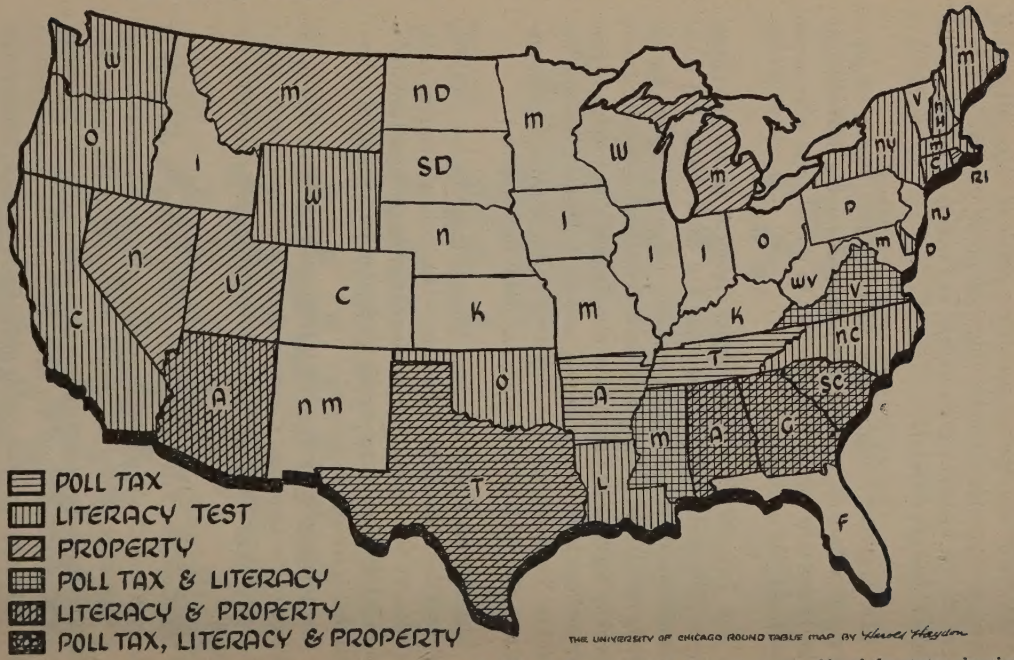
MR. JOHNSON: The states' rights argument against the Green-Lucas Bill, and also the charge that the Green-Lucas Bill is unconstitutional, is a phoney argument, because Congress has already passed laws preventing cities and states from collecting taxes owed by servicemen. They have also decreed that mortgages cannot be foreclosed on servicemen, and the Supreme Court has upheld it. Therefore, are we to say that we can constitutionally protect all the rights of the soldier except his right to vote?

MR. KRUEGER: But Congress has also passed a law providing in very clear language that there should be no discrimination, either in Selective Service or in the training of men in the armed services—no racial discrimination, no discrimination on account of color—and that is completely ignored.

One old compromise that has been worked time after time in the history of the Democratic party is that a verbal declaration is put on the books by the majority, and then it is just not enforced in the South.

MR. CRAVEN: You gentlemen are both talking in the realm of theory too much. You have to go back and get the fact that there is a long story behind all that is happening in the South. The South has been, in an economic way, a sort of colonial dependent of the North. The South has been poor, and the South is getting tired of being poor. The South has suffered under legislation that has built a great industrial life that has not had any counterpart in

VOTING RESTRICTIONS AMONG THE STATES



Source: *Voting in the United States.* (Chicago: Council of State Governments, August, 1940). Six of the states showing

the South at all. Further than that, the South has had a race question that is a serious one from a practical angle.

MR. JOHNSON: We have talked about the Democratic party. Let us turn to the Republican party in this discussion.

In this connection we see that Alf Landon, who carried two states in 1936, is becoming a roving adviser to the country. In Washington, the other day, he said that Republicans should not indorse the Moscow Pacts. The very next day, Hoover, after talking to Landon, said that Landon was not opposed to the Moscow Pacts. There seems to be a slight confusion there among these leaders.

MR. KRUEGER: There is one fix that the Republicans are not in that the Democrats are in. The Democrats have had only one leader for a long period of time—one President and no crown prince, as Mr. Wallace is finding out. That is important!

The Republicans have one other situation that is better than the Democrats. The Democrats have to try to hold the South solid and, at the same time, to do it without losing labor and the progressives and Negroes in the North. That is a very tough dilemma which the Republicans do not have in quite such a bad way.

MR. JOHNSON: On the other hand, the Republicans have the dilemma of attacking a war administration—a group that is in power during wartime. That is a serious issue with the American people. In the case of Lincoln, the people did not want to change horses in midstream.

MR. CRAVEN: Not only is the matter of being in power a long time rather difficult as far as the leadership is concerned but, remember, the party that is in power a long time—this party particularly—has had to pass some very strong regulations on everyday life. Taxes have been high, and that has had the tendency to create discontent. The Democrats have suffered from being in office as well as having the advantage of patronage, and so forth.

MR. KRUEGER: That leads, I think, to a very dangerous situation. It puts the Republican party in a position where its great strength is that all it has to do is just hold the basket—hold the basket for discontented people to fall into it. That is a great strength to the Republican party in 1944 and a great liability to the country.

MR. JOHNSON: That is a very important point that you raise there, and it ties in with the question of whether these two major parties should have the same foreign planks.

That seems to me undesirable, particularly if a Bricker is on the Republican ticket. The foreign issue should be thoroughly discussed in this campaign. The elected candidate should have a clear mandate. We do not want to repeat the confusion of 1920, when the elected candidate had no mandate on the League of Nations.

MR. CRAVEN: I think that that is a very important point, for this reason: There is a difference among certain Republicans and other Republicans on the foreign issue, and it will make a great deal of difference as to what man is put into the leadership of the party as to what the attitude of the party is. The matter of the peace that lies ahead is just as important as the matter of the war itself. Unless the party is willing to take a stand on principles, and each party take its own position on principles, we are going to face a situation in the future that is more serious perhaps than the present one.

MR. KRUEGER: On the third-party situation it seems to me that the main fact that we are stating is that there is not now on the horizon any powerful third party, nor is there going to be for 1944 any big hookup of the Democratic farmer and labor forces in the country.

With the Republican and Democratic parties as nearly identical as they are on all the big questions, it is a great gap in the American political system that there is no major coalition on the farmer-labor side for 1944.

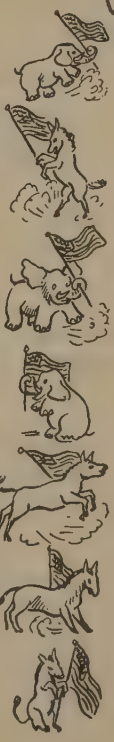
MR. JOHNSON: I disagree heartily, Krueger, that there is no

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

(selected years, 1900–1940)

			POPULAR VOTE	ELECTORAL VOTE
1900	McKINLEY	R	7,218,491	292
	BRYAN	D	6,356,734	155
1912	TAFT	R	3,486,720	88
	WILSON	D	6,296,547	435
	ROOSEVELT	Prog	4,118,571	8
1924	COOLIDGE	R	15,718,211	382
	DAVIS	D	8,385,283	136
	LA FOLLETTE	Prog	4,832,614	13
1928	HOOVER	R	21,391,993	444
	SMITH	D	15,016,169	87
1932	HOOVER	R	15,758,901	59
	ROOSEVELT	D	22,809,638	472
1936	LANDON	R	16,679,583	8
	ROOSEVELT	D	27,476,673	523
1940	WILLKIE	R	22,327,226	82
	ROOSEVELT	D	27,241,936	449



difference at the present moment between the New Deal party of Franklin Roosevelt and the conservative party of the Republicans. There has been a great difference in the last ten years between those two parties.

MR. KRUEGER: But the New Deal party is not a party. The Democratic party is a party; and the Republican party is a party; but the New Deal is not a party.

MR. JOHNSON: But the New Deal has dominated the Democratic party and has put through a great deal of social legislation.

MR. CRAVEN: If there is not a great difference between the parties, there really ought to be. There is room for difference between the parties, and at least one group that has been dominant in the Republican party has taken a position that another group in the Republican party cannot accept.

MR. KRUEGER: In many of these states, you know, I hear people talking about the possibilities of a bolt from the Democratic party or a bolt from the Republican party.

The state election laws in most of these states are such that, unless a third party is launched long before the national conventions of the Democratic and the Republican parties, it does not have a ghost of a chance of getting on the ballot.

MR. JOHNSON: Gentlemen, let us look at the presidential campaign of 1944 in light of what we have just said of the Republican, the Democratic, and possible third-party chances.

MR. CRAVEN: All right, Johnson. There is just one thing that I want to say to Krueger with regard to that third-party business. It seems to me that in a way we have gotten the very conditions which a third party might introduce. There has been a break in the Republican voting and in the Democratic voting. I do not believe that there are as many Democrats in this country—dyed-in-the-wool Democrats—as the number of votes that Roosevelt has gotten in his three terms.

MR. KRUEGER: You are right.

MR. CRAVEN: So I think that issues have become more important than party regularity. In one way, this very breaking-away

from the parties serves all the purposes that a third party would serve.

MR. KRUEGER: I do not see that at all. That means that the present political situation must be quite satisfactory to you. In my opinion, Craven, we are not going to get the old parties to talk sense about any important question unless there is a serious threat from the left which makes them talk sense in self-defense.

MR. JOHNSON: Wait a minute. No serious threat from the left made Franklin Roosevelt or Cordell Hull make an agreement in Moscow and later at Teheran on an international association of nations.

MR. KRUEGER: I do not think that they made much of an agreement, either; but that is not the subject.

MR. CRAVEN: We do not differ, Krueger, as far as the issue is concerned there. We do differ, however, as to whether or not it is necessary to have a third party in order to bring forward issues.

I insist that today the issues are being pressed forward by groups within the Democratic party, even by groups within the Republican party. Willkie surely stands for certain liberal ideas that are not characteristic of the rest of the party. If he is able to push those onto the party, it serves something of a third-party purpose.

MR. KRUEGER: Anyhow, it is perfectly clear there is not going to be a major political lineup on the left in 1944, except as the Socialist party runs its traditional minority campaign.

You want to apply this, Johnson, to the 1944 campaign specifically. What do you mean?

MR. JOHNSON: Let us look at another campaign in which America was at war—the Civil War of the 1860's. There we have very sharp parallels with the present. Abraham Lincoln, when he came up for re-election in 1864, did not run on a Republican ticket—that is, on the ticket on which he had been elected in 1860. He ran as a Union

party candidate. He was a war Republican. He took as his vice-presidential candidate Andrew Johnson, a war Democrat from Tennessee.[3]

MR. CRAVEN: I would like to enlarge upon that a little, because I think that the average American citizen does not realize that the Civil War brought to an end the old party alignments and that in 1864 it was necessary for Abraham Lincoln to run, not on the Republican ticket, but on a new ticket. The man who was temporary chairman in 1864 said, ...

MR. KRUEGER: Temporary chairman of what?

MR. CRAVEN: Of the Union convention which nominated Lincoln as its candidate and Johnson as the vice-presidential candidate. . . . . "I see before me not primitive Republicans and primitive Abolitionists. As a Union party, I will follow you to the ends of the earth and to the gates of death; but as an Abolition party, as a Republican party, as a Whig party, or as a Democratic party, as an American party, I will not follow you one foot."

MR. JOHNSON: In 1864, therefore, what was done is comparable, say, in 1944 to Franklin Roosevelt's taking Willkie on the ticket with him.

MR. CRAVEN: If something of the kind takes place that I suggested a while ago—that within the parties themselves there occur these breaks that I have suggested—then we will have something comparable to 1864.

MR. KRUEGER: It is very significant to me that there actually was an election in 1864, right in the midst of the Civil War. Lincoln was quite proud of that, too, and at the time, two days after the results were known, he made a little speech from the White House portico in which he pointed out that until then it had not been

[3] See T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln and the Radicals* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1941) for a discussion of the Union party and the Civil War election.

known to the world that this was a possibility. Wasn't the election of 1864 a pretty sordid kind of an affair from the standpoint of settling the issues that were coming up in the near future?

MR. CRAVEN: As far as settling the issues in the near future is concerned, that was one of the tragedies of the whole situation. What actually happened was that the old parties went to pieces. A new party made its appearance—but made its appearance on the platform of carrying the war to a successful conclusion.

MR. JOHNSON: There was no discussion, for instance, of the problems of the peace to follow.

MR. CRAVEN: No discussion of the peace to follow—discussion merely of the continuation of the war and the support of the war. The result of it was that the peace which came in a few months had to be faced without the parties in power having declared themselves upon the issues of peace. That made possible one of the most disastrous periods of American history.

MR. KRUEGER: We have discussed this problem of post-war policy on the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE several times earlier. Your main point seems to be that out of the 1864 election there was no mandate on post-war policies. As a result, the period following the war was one in which the Union was as much in danger as it ever was during the Civil War itself.

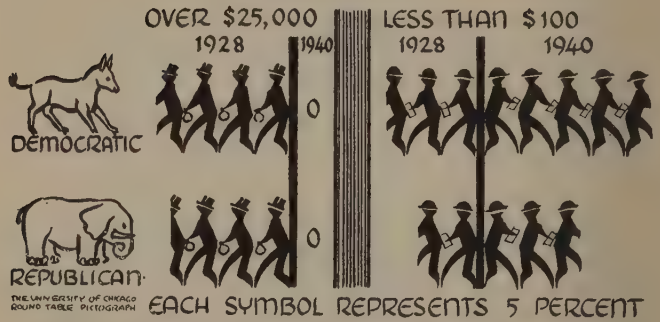
MR. CRAVEN: That is true, and there was the rule of the minority. It was possible, because there was no clear-cut mandate—no clear statement of party policy—for a minority group (and a radical group, as you might call them) to get control of affairs.

MR. JOHNSON: Yes, and there was also a moral collapse of the people after 1865, in which corruption flourished under Grant, much like the *Green Bay Tree.*

MR. CRAVEN: Not only corruption, but there was, in the South, military rule. There was the pushing-aside of the whole democratic procedure, the rule of what is sometimes called the carpetbaggers

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RECEIPTS OF GIFTS TO THE NATIONAL PARTY COMMITTEES

from donors of—



Source: V. O. Key, Jr., *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1942).

and the scalawags and the Negroes; and the whole Solid South of the later period is the product of that Reconstruction rule.

MR. KRUEGER: But somebody is going to step up and say (very foolishly, I think) that you cannot really discuss important questions in wartime because of the ammunition that it will give to Tojo in Japan or to Hitler and Goebbels in Germany. It seems to me that we have to get policy discussed in 1944—not just the politics of maneuver but the politics of policy—regardless of whether it makes things more difficult for the OWI and its foreign-broadcast propaganda or not.

MR. JOHNSON: I am in entire agreement with you that issues should be discussed in the 1944 campaign—but not personal issues such as the vilification that was thrown at Jefferson, at Bryan, and, during the 1930's, at Franklin Roosevelt.

MR. CRAVEN: You seem to think that we can conduct cam-

paigns in the United States without indulging in the old American practice of pointing with pride and viewing with alarm and without bringing in this whole business of saying that the other fellow has created disaster in the country and that the country is going to the dogs under the other party and that we must turn them out.

MR. JOHNSON: I certainly hope that we can have a different type of campaign from what most have been.

Before we turn away from the Civil War parallel, do not forget that the soldiers voted in 1864. Commissions were sent to the camps so that the soldiers could vote; and many people feel that that soldier vote re-elected Abraham Lincoln.

MR. CRAVEN: Do not forget also that one of the parties reached out and took a military hero—a man who was to a certain extent a martyr in the public eyes—and made him their candidate and attempted to attract votes on the basis of a military leader.

MR. KRUEGER: And not in any sense did that help to clarify the important issues that were before the country.

You have talked a lot about 1864. Both of you are historians. There must be important lessons there. What are they?

MR. CRAVEN: First of all, I would say that war has a tendency to create its own issues, and it is a good thing for a people to recognize that fact and to begin to shape their parties and even their political organizations in terms of those issues.

MR. JOHNSON: In other words, we must have a policy in 1944 on vital questions, such as the peace to come, in order to avoid what happened in 1865.

MR. CRAVEN: I would say that the great mistake of that whole period of the Civil War election was that they did not look forward enough. They dealt with only war issues and the completion of the war; they ignored the fact that there was a great problem that the nation would have to face in the peace. So that, when they came to face it, they had absolutely no indication of the direction their

parties would go. The parties had no commitments to their electorate. As I said, it allowed minority rule in the United States.

MR. JOHNSON: All right, then, in 1944, we should have candidates discuss the problem of peace—that is, what type of an international association is desirable. We should have a discussion on employment after the war, full employment, and how it is best to be achieved—by the role of government or by private industry.

MR. KRUEGER: If these major political parties have the effrontery to come before the electorate in 1944 with identical planks on the foreign-policy issue or with identical "weasel" words on the problem of post-war depression, I think that they will be committing a fraud against the future and that that is not self-government but that it is a travesty on self-government which may be the death of political democracy yet.

MR. CRAVEN: In other words, if we do not learn something from the election of 1864 and from the shortsightedness of fighting an election merely on war issues and not facing the future, we will commit the same mistake committed back there and at the same cost.

MR. JOHNSON: Of course, Craven and Krueger, in 1932, 1936, and 1940, major issues were not avoided by the Democratic party under Roosevelt's leadership. He came out for progressive regulation of industry in the interest of the mass of the people. He took a clear-cut stand on the foreign issue in 1940.

MR. KRUEGER: I do not think that anybody found it out during the campaign of 1932. In 1936 there was something of a record to run on.

MR. JOHNSON: I disagree with you on 1932, because in the Commonwealth Club, in San Francisco, Roosevelt laid out his entire platform which he followed as a New Deal. Most people did not read that speech.

MR. KRUEGER: That means that it was not a part of the campaign of 1932.

There is one other thing I would like to see these political parties get into, though. They ought to be able to tell us whether or not they propose to extend democracy in this country—and how fast.

My judgment is that the Revolution of 1776, the political-democratic Revolution of 1776, was never finished. It has to go into the racial field and it has to go into the economic field. I want the Republican and the Democratic parties to tell the people of this country what they propose to do about that, so that the people can make a choice.

MR. CRAVEN: I would rather say that it was the revolution of 1876, just after the Civil War, that has never been completed.

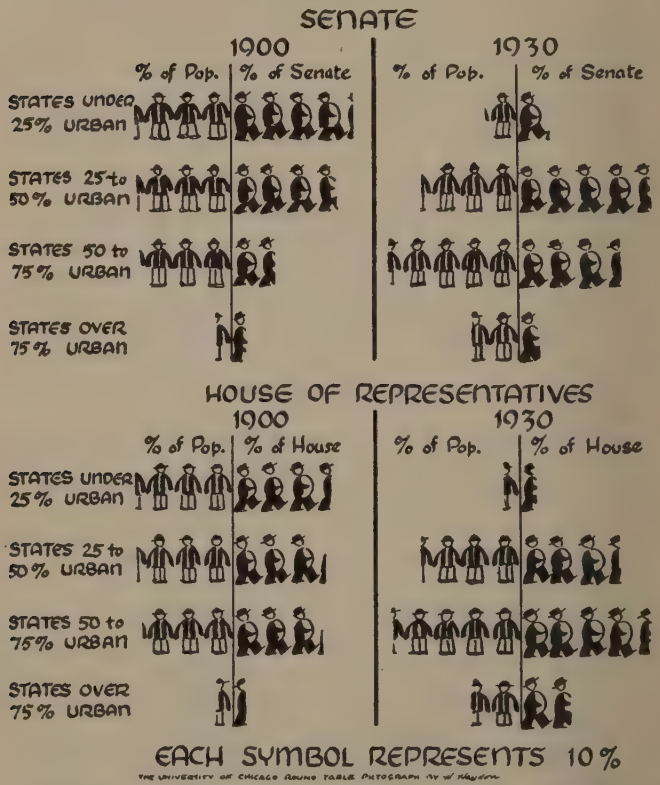
MR. KRUEGER: It never will be completed.

MR. JOHNSON: We need not only economic reform or racial reform but also political reform. For instance, many of our states exist today under constitutions that were written back in the rural period. They are archaic; they do not fit the problems of an industrial civilization.

MR. CRAVEN: What I would say is that we must have some definite statement of the direction in which our parties are going to go in regard to world peace and permanent peace. We ought to have, in other words, a clear-cut statement on foreign policy. We do need a statement also in regard to the matter of domestic affairs. The third thing that we have suggested is that we ought to know whether or not there is going to be, in the future, an effort on the part of each party to face the problem of the extension of democracy.

MR. KRUEGER: And if those statements from the two major parties turn out to be the same because they represent essentially the same interests, then I think the people ought to know it and

CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION AND POPULATION SHIFTS



Source: George H. Harnes, *The Senate of the United States*, Vol. II; Key, *op. cit.*

that they ought to be told in plain language. Let them act like one party instead of two.

MR. JOHNSON: I disagree with you again. They are not tweedle-

dum and tweedledee. In the last ten years there have been clear-cut differences between the Republican and Democratic parties on internationalism and on domestic affairs.

MR. CRAVEN: Yes, but they are in danger of dodging that. As you yourself said a while ago, there is an attempt to get the two parties to agree on the foreign-policy statement and not to bring the issue into the campaign. That is a danger.

MR. JOHNSON: All right. I would like to raise this question, which grows out of that: Should the President and the Congress be of the same party after 1944?

MR. KRUEGER: Why, the answer to that is clear. Of course, they should. But if you can make these parties talk about issues so that the people can recognize the issues, then I have no fear that the people will send to Washington a President of one political line and a congressional majority with a different political line.

MR. JOHNSON: There I am in hearty agreement with you, but let us remember 1918, when the Republicans gained control of the Senate and when Wilson was still President. By gaining control of the Senate, they were in control of the Foreign Relations Committee, and that committee sabotaged the League of Nations.[4]

MR. CRAVEN: There is one thing, gentlemen, that we have been dodging a little, it seems to me. We have been talking about the matter of facing issues. I would like to raise the question that always comes with war. War is a great idealizer. We always fight our wars on a high idealistic basis. We are always talking about democracy. We are all talking about the rights of man, and so forth. Don't you think that there is a little bit of danger in two directions? First of all, that we will try to close the gap between our ideals and our realities too fast? In the second place, is there not a danger that we will be inclined sometimes to think in terms of the

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[4] For a discussion of the situation in the Senate after the last war see Walter Johnson, "Senate Strategy, 1919-1920," *Antioch Review*, winter, 1943.

future too much and neglect the problem of fighting the war itself? We do not want a campaign that's going to interfere with the winning of the war.

MR. KRUEGER: If we can make political parties talk about the real issues in this country, there is not the slightest danger that that will interfere with good administration.

Rather, the danger is in the other direction. That is, if politics does not deal with real issues, then Congress, senatorial investigating committees, political campaigns, and so on, will have to deal with nothing but picayune issues and the kind of personal politics that ought to be adjourned not only for the duration but forever. The more of real issues we can get discussed by the major parties, the less the danger that politics will interfere with efficient administration of anything.

MR. JOHNSON: What you have just said, Krueger, raises the question of whether the parties will rise to the challenge in 1944. My feeling is that the Democratic party, under New Deal leadership, has in the last ten years attacked real issues, although there are some members of the party who have been opposed to these real issues, and these members are the men who have been vocal in the Senate in the last two weeks—men like "Cotton" Ed Smith of South Carolina.

MR. KRUEGER: Of course, I think that the New Deal is dead.

MR. JOHNSON: I do not agree with you. I think that it is still a vital institution.

MR. KRUEGER: I do not think that there has been any major piece of reform legislation passed since 1937.

But here is what I do believe. Unless you can get a strong party on the left—a strong farmer-labor party, a strong new party more or less like that of the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, which has been very successful—you do not stand a ghost of a chance of getting either the Democratic or the Republican parties to face any basic issues.

MR. CRAVEN: Do you think there is any possibility of that kind of a political break?

MR. KRUEGER: I think that there is a possibility in the congressional elections in several districts throughout the country, but I have heard you say before that you think that the people are ahead of the politicians.

MR. CRAVEN: I do.

MR. KRUEGER: If the people are ahead of the politicians on these issues, whose move is it? I say that it is the people's move. It is up to the electorate to discipline the parties.

MR. JOHNSON: Yes, but the electorate is not going to support any candidate who does not favor winning the war as well as winning the peace. Both of those issues are going to be vital ones.

MR. CRAVEN: But I insist that if we face these issues honestly and give the people a chance to vote their convictions, if the parties get platforms of a liberal sort, then we are going to do the most efficient work toward winning the war.

Gentlemen, we seem to agree that we do not need to avoid or to fear a campaign during the war, but we agree that it must be a campaign of a different kind than we have had sometimes in the past—those campaigns in which we merely point with pride and view with alarm, which pick out false issues and merely oppose personalities.

We are in a period, somehow or other, when there are vital issues that ought to be faced, and our political parties ought not to agree to dodge this or that or the other. They ought to face these issues frankly and honestly and give the people, who seem to be awakened on these issues, a chance to speak. If they do, then perhaps we can have a democratic solution of our problems now and in the future.

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What Do *You* Think?

1. Do you think that party discipline has broken down in Congress and that the two major political parties have broken up into coalitions of pressure groups? How would you describe the differences between political parties and pressure groups?

2. What historical factors have been important in conditioning the United States toward the two-party rather than the multi-party system? If it is assumed to be desirable to minimize social conflict, what is the best type of party system? Why?

3. How effective is the vote in expressing the consent of the governed? How does the public opinion poll compare with the vote in success in the expression of public opinion? What was the will of the governed as revealed in the last congressional election?

4. What are the prospects for the continuation of the two-party system in the United States? Do you think the Solid South should break away from the Democratic party? Historically, what has been the service and importance of the minor parties?

5. In your opinion what policies do the Republican and Democratic parties stand for? Would you favor the adoption of identical statements on foreign policy in the platforms of the two major political parties? If you favor such an action, how would you phrase the foreign-policy plank?

6. Ascertain how your state has voted at each of the last ten presidential elections. Can the results be reasonably attributed to a relationship between the predominant interests of the people of the state and the issues of each campaign?

7. What are the special difficulties of occurrence of the 1944 election in wartime? Is there danger that the 1944 election will be an election on war issues and that no decision on peace policy will appear? What would you suggest to prevent such a result?

8. What action do you favor to insure that the soldiers will be able to vote in the 1944 election? How does the poll-tax issue affect the party system? What changes are needed in American election laws to insure a more effective democracy?

More on This Topic

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"Four Choices for Progressives," *Common Sense,* November, 1943.

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"What the Elections Proved," *New Republic,* November 15, 1943.

WILLKIE, WENDELL, "Our Task," *Vital Speeches,* November 1, 1943. *Gives his views on the problems facing the Republican party.*

The People Say....

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE *audience on "The Four Powers Confer," broadcast December 12, 1943.*

*

Realistic

The last part of your discussion was very realistic and can be discussed more explicitly and more thoroughly at a later date.....—*A listener from Lorain, Ohio.*

*

Great!

Today's ROUND TABLE was great! I found out that the Atlantic Charter applies to the Pacific, as was decided in Teheran. People say that whatever is decided at these conferences can be upset by our own Senate. Won't you talk on how that cannot be allowed to happen again, since we, the people, will know better than to allow it again? —*A listener from Evanston, Illinois.*

*

Illuminating

Your ROUND TABLE broadcast this Sunday was highly illuminating..... As a true American, I believe that Roosevelt is right in collaborating with other nations, and I would not expect any special favors for any particular nation but rather a thorough administration of some form of punishment to the guilty nations so as to establish a precedent against any future war possibilities. The reparations of the last war were not sufficient punishment. If the League of Nations had been strong enough to enforce its laws, we could have been spared from this war, for there would have been no strong militaristic Germany to start the fight. I do not believe that the time is ripe to decide what shall be done about Germany or Japan after the war; I believe that our punishment will be more severe when we fully realize our own damages. The main thing now is to win the war as rapidly as possible and to keep alert so that the cause of justice will not become marred by any improper sentimentality.—*A listener from Chicago, Illinois.*

*

Another Frankenstein

By way of comment, I wish to say that I do not think that a Four-Power dictatorship, meaning Russia, the United States, China, and England, can dictate to the world and guarantee a lasting peace for the world. The enemy nations are also nations, and they must be given an equal share, or they will start another war. No one nation can be crushed without ourselves finally being crushed with them —we would only create another Frankenstein which would, in turn, crush us.—*A listener from Winchester, Virginia.*

*

Greatly Appreciated

Your discussion this morning of the statements made at the recent conferences of the great powers and the analysis of their declarations was very good. Your contribution to the knowledge of the common man trying to think these problems through is greatly appreciated.—*A listener from Pomona, California.*

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231. *Economic Requisites of a Durable Peace*
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241. *Manpower*
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249. *Woodrow Wilson: Prophet or Visionary*
250. *Things To Come: How Science May Shape the Next Twenty-five Years*

1943

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299. *The Four Powers Confer.* December 12

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1:30 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240	York, Pa.	WORK	1350

12:30 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240

11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	770	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
Boseman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

10:30 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

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Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Minneapolis, Minn.	WLB	770	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810

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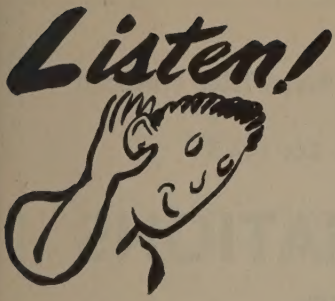
Anchorage, Alaska	KFQD	790	Juneau, Alaska	KINY	1450
Fairbanks, Alaska	KFAR	610	Ketchikan, Alaska	KTAN	930



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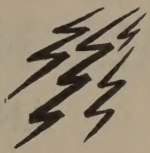

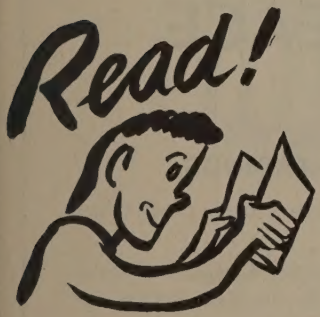

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